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SOME LETTERS
OF
FRANKLIN'S
CORRESPONDENTS

[From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.]

Reprinted from the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,
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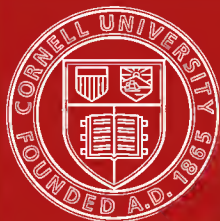
Some letters of Franklin's correspondent



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SOME LETTERS OF FRANKLIN'S CORRESPONDENTS.

PORTSMOUTH April 17th. 1775.

DEAR SIR :

As Major Trent is the Bearer of this Letter, it is the less necessary for me now to be very particular in my Communications. I presented, as you desired, your Respects to Lord Camden, and his Lordship requested me to tell you, that he should have been much pleased to have seen you, before you embarked ;—That the Chancellor's Decision in your Case, is entirely political, and that, if during the Administration of the present Men,—An Appeal should be made, from the Court of Chancery to the House of Lords,—you would certainly meet with the same Fate there, as you had below.—In a few Days after the Hollidays, His Lordship moves for the total Repeal of the Quebeck Act; and if Lord Chatham's Health will admit of it,—He will certainly second the Motion :—And in the House of Commons, Sir George Saville—moves to amend this shameful Act.—There have been several Conferences, between Lord Camden and Sir George upon the Subject; But although the latter wishes the total Repeal,—yet some of the Rockinghams think it is too much to attempt, and therefore, in a friendly way, it is settled between them,—To move in the different Houses, in the different Ways, I have mentioned The Fate of these Motions, there can be no doubt about ;—But yet, it is thought Right to lay a proper Ground for Repeal—In Case our Countrymen shall act so unitedly and decisively,—in their Plans of Non Exportation &c.—as to compel the Court to abandon the present Set of Ministers. I am really grieved at the Publication of Mr. Galloway's extraordinary Pamphlet. Our great Friends in both Houses, are extremely angry at it, and express themselves in most resentful

Terms, against the Author;—While the Courtiers rejoice at that Part of the Pamphlet, which represents our Divisions and Controversys, as to Boundaries and Modes of Religion, our Incompetency to resist the Power of this Country And the undecided State of the Congress,—for several Weeks,—as to what really were the Rights of America;—yet the Courtiers at the same Time treat with ineffable Contempt, the Plan of Union proposed, and which they say, by not being adopted—offended the Author's Pride, and has been the happy means, of their being satisfactorily confirmed in their Ideas, of the Weakness and Division of the Colonies; and by perseverance,—They shall unquestionably obtain, a perfect Submission. Mr Pope, you remember, has wisely said “How shall we reason but from what we know”—On which I shall only make this short observation, that if our Friend Mr Galloway, had properly known,—The real Plans of this arbitrary Administration, He would never, I am persuaded,—have committed Himself, in the very indiscreet Manner, that He has done.—Major Trent carries out with Him, the restraining Act for Pennsylvania, New Jersey &c. And lest any News, unfavorable to the Designs of Government,—might arrive from Governor Colden,—Administration used great Industry, in accelerating it through the House of Lords,—In Order, that New York might not, if possible, be inserted in it; They placing much confidence in the Fidelity and Loyalty of the Delancey's and their Friends, to dissolve the Union of America. The Generals, Burgoyne, Howe and Clinton are now here, waiting only for a favorable Wind,—To sail for Boston.—There it is to be determined,—How two of them are to be disposed of;—One of them, with two or three Regiments, it being here decided, shall be stationed at New York, to support the King's Friends, so called, in that Colony.—Several persons, as Spies are sent to each of the Provinces, to collect Intelligence,—and observe and report the Conduct of People in general, and some in particular.—Major Skeene returns for that, or some other such servile, and dishonorable

Purpose. He is in the same Ship with Major Trent.—It would surely be presumption in me to offer any Intimations to you, as to what Part,—America ought immediately to take; But it is M^r Levy's and M^r Steady's sincere Opinion, that if the new Congress will firmly insist on and see inviolably maintained throughout America,—The Non Exportation and Non Importation Plans,—and at the same Time will effectually arm in Case of the worst,—that the Magnitude of these Measures will infallibly force its own Way; and American Freedom will be soon fixed on an immovable Basis.—Whenever any Thing material occurs,—you may depend upon having it immediately communicated to you; And in the mean Time,—give me leave to inform you that I have obtained a very full and satisfactory Opinion from Serjeant Glynn (—The best Lawyer, Lord Camden assures me, in England)—Upon the Title to our Indian Lands,—(which M^r Trent Will shew you) And permit me to ask the favor of you,—To assist this Gentleman in obtaining concurrant Opinions from M^r Galloway,—M^r Dickinson, and the Lawyers from Virginia &c. who may be at the Congress; As this is certainly the favorable Crisis, to establish Titles for Lands, fairly obtained from the native Proprietors.—I am Dear Sir with the sincerest Esteem

Your most obd^t & faithful Serv^t

S. WHARTON.

DEAR SIR :

Some time since M^r W^m Lee forwarded my letter to you advising the payment of £100 from the Constitutional Society into the hands of your Bankers Mess^{rs} Brown, Collinson & Co. towards relieving the distressed Inhabitants of Boston.

On the 23^d Ins^t they voted £100 more for their relief which is also paid into the hands of the same Gentlemen on your Acc^t and both sums wait your demand and application.

Recent accounts from America give information of an

unprovoked attack by a detachment from the regular troops at Boston against the Provincials which as far as we yet know reflects as little honour on the British Military as our Politicks do on the British Legislature.

I entertain the best hopes that America directed by wisdom similar to your own will act with sufficient firmness to maintain the rights of free tho loyal subjects.

All reasonable men with whom I converse still continue fixed in opinion against the right of taxing America not represented in Parliament. I am with much respect and great Esteem

Dear Sir

Your very obedient

Humble Servant

RICH^d OLIVER.

LONDON 31st May 1775.

July 6th, 1775.

DEAR SIR :

I write to you more to prove my remembrance of you, than for the importance of anything I have to communicate.

The two defeats near Boston seem to have made little impression on the Ministry. They still talk of great things to be expected from their generals & troops when united. One of your judgment will draw more information from the single word Rebels used in the Gazette, than from anything I can say. Far from retracting they mean to exasperate, in perfect confidence of being successful. It is the curse of fools to be secure; & I trust their fate will prove, that the end of the wicked is punishment.

L^d G. Germaine, the Father of the military murder Bill, is Dictator in all the military operations against America. As Cowards are often confident when danger is at a distance, this man is not only bold himself but inspires the King & his Ministers with equal confidence.

The report is that L^d John Murray's Regiment of High-

landers & others to be raised by Col. Fraser are to be sent over. The former I believe is true. The Scotch will fight with two times the rancour & not half the bravery of the english. I cannot conceive them to be formidable foes if bravely opposed. Against timid or flying enemies they act heroically.

The dissatisfaction of the Public here certainly increases every day. Shortly it will arrive to that degree at which an untoward event or national calamity will kindle a flame destructive to all those who have planned these fatal measures. You will see by the proceedings of the Common Hall what are the sentiments of the City of London. I am much deceived or the Nation in general will speak the same language in a little time. Happily however America is capable of working her own salvation, or the influence of corruption & dissipation here would render escape from the hand of tyranny extremely doubtful.

The Revolutions of great Empires have often been forc'd by the follies of weak & wicked men; but never before I think, did the folly of man sin so obstinately against the evidence of accumulated instruction. An overruling Providence seems to employ their ignorance & rashness for purposes which wisdom would foresee & shrink from.

It will be of great use in proving the propriety of our proceedings to state the number of Petitions from all the Provinces which have been presented in vain. Not being in possession of them, nor knowing how to get them but by the Speaker of each Province sending the part of their Journals which contain them, I must beg the favor of you to endeavor to obtain that for me. There will be a moment, I am sure, when stating the repeatedly rejected Petitions of America here, will bring down vengeance upon the heads of her inveterate enemies.

Some Gentlemen here have lately found by experiments that man can bear 180 degrees of heat & a dog 230, without injury for 30 minutes. The heat of the Dog's body examined immediately did not exceed 130. This proves

what I long ago observ'd in some experiments on Frogs that the animal Body, when living, was endued with a power of generating Cold as well as heat. A. L.

GOLDEN SQUARE July 31, 1775

DEAR SIR :

I am very glad to collect by a Phrase in the letter from the Congress to the Canadians, that they think once more of imploring the Attention of their Sovereign. I can give you no information of the State of the Ministry, I shd be one of the last to be informed of their counsels. The great fear that I entertain is least they shd make things desperate with America, in order to screen themselves. I can easily foresee, that in short time, we shall have very little communication or intelligence from America, but what the Ministry please to retail out to us and that modified as they shall think proper. If they act the part of Go-betweens making mischief and can intercept the Communications between the two Countries, they may make each Country think ill of the other by a course of mutual misrepresentations. All the accounts that were laid upon the table of the House of Commons last year were garbled just for the purpose of misleading our judgments; And the same will probably allways be the Conduct of men who have an interest to foment a quarrel between the two Countries, with a view to justify themselves *ex post facto* and upon subsequent acts of violence and ill blood, w^{ch} are inseparable from a state of war to deceive the people of England into a persuasion, that our brethren in America were from the first ill disposed to this Country. The ministry have the Command of the sea and thereby of all correspondence. They will permit none but the most violent libels against the Americans to be sent over to you in order to make you believe, that the Spirit of this Country is against you. They may, on the other hand, give to us just what accounts they please. Both Countries must be at their pleasure for the representation of things. For instance

in the Gazette account of the 19th of April they say : Such was the Cruelty & barbarity of the rebels, that they scalped and cut off the ears of some of the wounded men who fell into their hands. The worst impressions must be expected to arise upon the minds of the people of both countries from such articles as these, w^{ch} can only be calculated to foment ill blood. For these Considerations, I most earnestly entreat, that our brethren in America will not give credit to any unfavorable reports that may be sent over to them, when a free communication of intelligence is intercepted. Disbelieve all such reports and trust to the generosity and justice of the minds of the people. You will certainly find the nation just, generous & affectionate to you. The general sentiments and feelings of this country have been greatly shocked by the Gazettes of blood, not that of enemies but of our brethren & fellow subjects. I hope that even these horrid events will not turn off the General Congress from making some proposals for accommodation. The people of England cannot be alienated from those of their own blood, their own brethren and friends in America if they still find you earnest for reconciliation. You know that the heart of this Country was not alienated from you when you left us. Your friends, Mess^{rs} Osborne, Falconer & Read bring you more recent intelligence; being discreet and intelligent persons, they can judge of the temper of this Country and they will tell you, that it is not unfavorable to you. Whatever you hear to the contrary believe it not. Rely on the Candour of the people of England and state facts. I hear particularly of great remittances daily coming over. Shew us how scrupulous you have been to pay your debts, and collect if you can an Estimate of the remittances made this year. Any pains and labour will be well bestowed to vindicate yourselves and your character to this country and to posterity. Passion may sway for a while but reason must prevail in the end. Let your friends here have all possible materials to do justice to your Cause. Votes of assemblies

petitions addresses facts dates, and the historical evidence of all transactions from the very beginning of these unfortunate troubles. I fear that I shall repeat the same things over & over, in all my letters, till I weary you, but I am most earnest to leave no chance untried, and to exert every possible means of reconciliation. Let your friends here have all possible materials to do justice to your cause and to strengthen their endeavours to restore harmony and confidence between the two Countries. Let us strive to the last. Let us leave nothing undone. All is lost if we despair. I remain Dear Sir

with the greatest respect
to your person and character
your much obliged friend

G. B.

TO DOCTOR FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR :

I had lately the honour of acquainting you by Capt. Read with some particulars which I now confirm, and although but little of importance has since occurred I am induced to trouble you again with a few suggestions respecting the title of the different Indian tribes of America to the property and jurisdiction of their Territories.

You will doubtless remember that our friend M^r Wharton had collected and put together some important facts & observations relating to this subject & as his sentiments thereon were perfectly agreeable to my own we composed and printed, soon after your departure, a small Pamphlet, in Vindication of the Rights of the Aborigines of America; one of which, M^r Thom^s Wharton was desired to shew you, and lest that may have miscarried another is herewith sent for your acceptance; not that I suppose any new arguments will be necessary for your Conviction on this topic; being satisfied from the liberality and extensive circuit of your reflections, as well as from particular conversations with which you have favoured me that you have long perceived the absurdity of all distinctions between the temporal

rights of mankind founded on any supposed defect in their religious opinions, and have rejected those pretensions on which former Popes availing themselves of the ignorance & superstition then prevailing over all Europe, arrogantly assumed a right to dispose of the persons & countries of unbelieving nations in Asia, Africa & America; a right which is now universally ridiculed by all whose minds are emancipated from the shackles of superstitious prejudice. And indeed the aborigines of America being the primitive occupiers of that continent and having obtained the possession of it from the Creator & most rightful disposer of the Earth, without that injustice & violence by which other nations have frequently acquired their territories, were by the laws of Nature & Nations justly intitled to the full and absolute dominion & property of that continent.

Before America had been discovered the inhabitants could not possibly have owed any allegiance or subjection to any foreign state, and nothing could be acquired by a discovery of countries previously inhabited and possessed—and therefore the American Indians must still have an indisputable title to the jurisdiction and property of all parts of that continent, which have not been obtained from them by purchase, cession or justifiable conquest—This truth was indeed well known and so sensibly felt by the first settlers in our colonies, that tho protected by grants from the Crown they appear never to have relied on those grants, nor to have considered them as any other than Political Distributions of Country, which gave them no title to the soil until it should be fairly obtained from the Indians themselves—and the same maxims were likewise adopted by the Lords of Council, in their decision respecting the appeal of the Moheagan Indians against the colony of Connecticut; and in truth the British Government on many occasions and particularly in the negociations with the Court of France in 1775 and in the purchase of lands on the Ohio, made in behalf of the Crown from the six Nations in 1768 has publicly acknowledged & confirmed

the title of the Indian Nations of America to their respective Countries—The King has indeed from political views assumed a right of restraining the Indians from conveying their lands to any but those who may be authorized by the Crown to purchase them; every reason however, and every principle of justice, supporting the limited right, which is thus allowed them, must operate as strongly in favor of their full and unlimited right over the lands in question. For as the property of the Indians in their respective territories is original and underived, except from the Divine Creator, it must by a necessary consequence be full, absolute, exclusive and indefeasable.—I write not indeed to convince you of these truths of which you are already satisfied, but to suggest to you a particular application of them.—You know it has been generally though unthinkingly believed here, that the lands on which our colonies in America have been settled, were before such settlement the property of the British state, and that this has been assumed as a fundamental proposition by almost every writer in favour of Parliamentary Supremacy, and that the dependance & subjection of the colonies to the Legislature of Great Britain has been from thence most strongly, though erroneously infered and maintained—A regard therefore to the civil rights of our countrymen in America, as well as to that equal & common justice which belongs to the Indians demands that this fundamental & pernicious error should be speedily & publicly corrected & exploded; which could not be so properly and effectually done as by that respectable body the Congress, whose declaration in support of the absolute right of the natives to their territories, would for ever exterminate this Error in America, and probably in Europe likewise—There is besides another consideration which should, I think, induce the Congress to this proceeding—There can be no doubt, but if the present hostile invasion of the colonies will be the case, so long as there is any hope of success, and if the forces to be sent from hence should be found unequal to this unnatural

purpose, that endeavours will be used to excite the Indians of America, to butcher the inhabitants of the colonies, to the end, that by an accumulation of distress and carnage, they may the sooner be reduced to submission. These execrable attempts however might I think be effectually frustrated and the affections of the Indians unalterably secured if the Congress should publickly assert & maintain the full and absolute right of the natives to sell & convey their lands to such purchasers as may offer the best prices, without any of those restraints from the Crown which have hitherto rendered this (almost the only) property of the Indians of but little value to them.—You know, sir, how jealous these natives have long been of our intentions toward them on this subject and I think an act of so much justice and so essentially conducive to their most important interests could not fail to conciliate their friendship to those who should thus espouse their cause and assert their rights. This indeed is now rendered the more expedient by the pernicious views of the Government manifested in the Quebec act and in the expressions which lately escaped from the ministerial speakers against Lord Camden's motion.—To bind all the future settlements of British America in chains of despotism appears to have been the design of that part of the act which so enormously extends the limits of Quebec, but the ministry being conscious of the rights of the Indians have cautiously worded this part of the act, which declares “that all the territories islands and countries in North America belonging to the Crown of Great Britain bounded” within the limits therein described shall “be annexed to and made part and parcel of the Province of Quebec”—and therefore if it be proved, as may easily be done, that the countries of the Indians within those limits do not belong to the Crown of Great Britain but to the different Indian nations by whom they are possessed and who have been often treated with as independent allies, these countries will then be detached from the Province of Quebec & rescued from the despotism which must otherwise

be imposed upon them and also from those quit rents and other reservations which have lately accompanied all Royal grants in America & which are so frequently adduced to support the Supremacy of Parliament, as has been already mentioned.

I shall however respectfully submit the justice of these observations, the use to which they may be capable of being applied, and the time and manner of their application to your superior wisdom—and have only to add to the communications of my former letter that five regiments containing in all about fifteen hundred men are soon to proceed from Ireland to America.—I strongly hope however, that the ill success which I am persuaded will attend all the attempts of the Army & Navy in America this summer may at the commencement of next winter compel the present ministry to quit the helm, which they have so unwisely and wickedly conducted and that they may be succeeded by others who will contribute to a permanent and equitable reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies. I shall be happy at all times to hear of your welfare & to receive & execute any commands with which you may think fit to honour me.

I am with great esteem & respect

Dear Sir

Your much obliged

& most devoted Hub. Serv^t

DOWNING STREET LONDON

EDW^D BANCROFT.

Aug^t 7th 1775.

D^R FRANKLIN.

DEAR S^R

LONDON 12th Aug^t 1775.

With pleasure your friends received the agreeable intelligence of your safe arrival and health.

Inclos'd I return a Letter for you directed to our care—From different accounts I am pleased to observe the great unanimity that prevails thro the Continent; your advice was never more wanted, hope it will tend to restore that invaluable blessing to which our unhappy Colonies have been so

long strangers, from the best accounts we can collect think the Ministry still seem determined to pursue rigorous measures, more troops & men of War are going to protect those already there till the spring, when a large reinforcement of fresh ones are to accomplish all these designs, (little thinking) what we must naturally suppose will happen before that period arrives, from a total stoppage in the Trade to America; but supposing it possible to be otherwise, it is my Opinion, these Attempts to inforce these measures by the sword is impracticable—it is evident they have got so far in the mire as not to be able to return back with any degree of Credit to themselves, therefore seem determined to pursue, tho it may terminate in the ruin of both Countries—since the battle of the 17 June our reproch of Cowardice however is wiped off.

The Publick papers would inform you of the death of our poor friend M^r Quincy, it was great concern to us; we lament him as an agreable acquaintance and a sincere friend to the interest of his Country; had a satisfaction however to think his papers fell into the hands of the Congress.

I sincerely wish a continuance of your unanimity—May Peace be established upon a firm and lasting basis, so ardently wishes your sincere

friend & most hum^{ble} Ser^t

To

THO^s BROMFIELD.

DOCTOR FRANKLIN

Capt. Newman who is ⁱⁿ Philadelphia
desired to deliver this
with his own hand.

PERTH-AMBOY, Augst 14, 1775.

HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you by the Stage on Thursday last since which I have not heard from you.

As you were so kind as to say that you had no objection to doing anything for me that might be in your Power respecting the Lands in the Traders Grant from the Indians,

I send you enclosed a Copy of a Letter on that Subject from M^r George Morgan, together with my Answer open, which, after Perusal, please to Seal and Deliver.—I should be glad of your Sentiments respecting the Contents as soon as your Leisure will permit.

I have read Mess^{rs} Walpole & Sargent's Letter to you, and observe that since you left England they have received the strongest assurances that our Grants shall be perfected; and that they request that their Plan of Possessing & Leasing the Lands contracted for with Government may be "kept as private as possible, for should it be known on their side of the Water it might rather prejudice us than do us any service." I think it proper therefore to suggest to you that, in my opinion, it is hardly possible that such a Transaction will be kept so secret as they think necessary, and consequently that you and Major Trent ought to weigh well the Consequences before you adopt the Measure.

I wonder Trent should make as an Excuse for not clearing the Judgments to Tilghman, or paying the Jersey Debt for Croghan, that he has nothing of Croghan's in his hands, when by Croghan's letter to me the judgment to Tilghman was principally, if not solely for a debt of Trent's own, and, by his Acc^t against Trent, there is a Ballance due to him of about 17 or 1800£. M^r Bernard Gratz (your Neighbour) has the Acc^t & a Power to receive the Ball. & to pay it to me. Do send for him and he will shew to you and make you acquainted with the Affair of the Judgment. He lately promised to write to me as soon as he could get Trent's Answer. Do let him know that I have not yet had a line from him.

We are all well & join in affectionate Duty to you and Love to the Family

I am, Honrd Sir,

Your ever dutiful Son

W^m FRANKLIN

P.S.—I should be glad to have a line from you by the Post to let me know if I may expect to see you here—

whether you approve of my coming to Philad.—when it will be proper Billy should be there in order to go to the College.

The above & enclosed were copied by him.

LONDON Sep^r 6. 1775.

DEAR SIR :

I have your Favour of July 7th acknowledging the receipt of mine of April 8th and May 5th and am very sorry you seem to think matters are now gone so far as to be past all Accomodation. But as you tell me that Words & Arguments are now of no use, I shall not trouble you with many, only permit me to express my surprise and concern at your saying, all tends to a separation. Perhaps the wisest Heads and honestest Hearts on your side the Water do not see all the Consequences of such an Event; for it cannot be denied, that you have [torn] to [torn] present Strength, Riches & Consideration by your [torn] with [torn] and the protection you have received from the [torn] of this Country. Nobody can say what will be your [torn] when that Protection is not only withdrawn, but that very [torn] exerted against you. We may not indeed recover you for Customers, and in that Case I hope we shall, as we do now, find other markets for the Commodities we can spare, but it should not be forgotten on your Part that at the Commencement of our Commercial Intercourse, and for many years after, the Merchants of this Country supplied you with a Variety of Goods which were then absolutely necessary to your Subsistence and Comfort (and what perhaps you cannot yet well do wholly without) at no inconsiderable Risque, and with a Liberality of Credit, which probably no other European Nation would or could afford to give you. It has indeed turned out to be a very beneficial Commerce to Britain as well as to you. But does she not deserve it? Surely she does. As for the Colonies paying their Debts, nobody here seems to give themselves any Concern on that Head. Whatever be the

Convulsions of States, private Men will always discharge their just Debt if they are honest and able. Of your Integrity we have had long Experience, and of your Ability there can be little Doubt when you can make such a sacrifice of present Interest, and such expensive preparations for Resistance, when you think the sacred voice of Liberty calls for it. Certain it is, that the Parliament were ignorant of your present Opulence when, at the conclusion of the late War, they refunded you a large Sum, which they conceived you had expended beyond your Ability: But this, while it discovered how little they knew of your real Wealth, shewed at the same time how little disposed they were to fleece or oppress you. Nor should this be altogether forgotten.

I own the Unanimity & Firmness you discover in the Prosecution of this Quarrel excells my Expectation. But this is not much to be wondered at, when one considers, how easy it is for a few violent men with you (countenanced & encouraged as they were by the Clamors of the Opposition here) to spirit up the great mass of the People under the specious Pretence that they had no alternative but to die Freemen or to live Slaves. This how[torn] well know, is by no means the case. You know your friends have been constantly increasing ever since the Repeal of the Stamp Act; in particular, you will remember, the Distinction you then made between external & internal Taxes, the former of which you admitted we had a right to impose, and which was precisely the Case of the Tea Duty, now so odious with you. So that at length you have brought the Matter to this simple Question, "Shall the British Colonies remain any longer a part of the British Empire?"—This is the simple point you have now drawn the Swords to decide. For not to talk of Taxation and Representation of which I see no End, I believe there is no Precedent of the Inhabitants of any Province however distant, belonging to a state, having as you have the same Privileges with those born in the Mother Country and

enjoying the Protection of its Laws and its Power, not being subject to the Legislature of that State. In what manner our Legislature could best exercise their Power in taxing you, in Consistence with the Principles of the Constitution, which more amply than in any other State upon Earth provides for and guards the Liberty of the Subject, it might perhaps be still no difficult matter to discover, were you seriously disposed to acknowledge that the Parliament of England has any Right at all to make Laws to bind you, a Right, which tho you have hitherto submitted to the Exercise of, in a Variety of the most essential and important Acts of Legislation, you now wholly renounce and disclaim.

You see how soon I have forgot that Words and Arguments are out of the Question, but I have insensibly drawn out this Letter to a Length which I did not intend when I begun it, as for this once forgive me. Perhaps these may be my last Words to you upon this Subject, and should they turn out to be my last in every Sense, I can truly say they come from an unprejudiced Mind, always open to better information, and from a Heart sincerely disposed to promote the Happiness of my Fellow Creatures.

I am glad you are this Year blest as we are with a plentiful Harvest. Corn has been of late a very beneficial article of Commerce to you (for the Benefits of Commerce are [torn] you have generally much more than is necessary for [torn] Consumption; but as it is a Commodity that will not keep [torn] you, and one from the Produce of which your Farmers are enabled to purchase all the other necessaries of Life, will not the present Obstruction to their Exportation of it be severely felt by that useful part of the Community?—The Evils of War are extensive and innumerable. May the present and all Wars (if Wars there must be) terminate so as to leave the greatest possible numbers of human Beings free and happy. In this particular I am sure we are of one Mind.

There is nothing new here nor can there be till the Par-

liament reassembles which will be the 26th of next month. I shall then, as I have done always, have my Ears open to all that is said pro and con. I hope still (for I never cease to hope even in the greatest Extremities) that something may be luckily hit on to stop the Progress of this unnatural and destructive Quarrel, which I must own the Declaration of the Congress you inclosed to me, seems more calculated to perpetuate than any of your Publications I have yet seen. They say, among other things that Foreign Assistance, if necessary, is undoubtedly attainable. Alas! do you consider the Danger of calling in Foreign Assistance? Where is the Foreign State you can with Safety and Propriety apply to? How many Nations have been ruined and enslaved by calling in Foreign Assistance! But I suppose this is only thrown out in terrorem and was never meant to be seriously put in Practice.

I am very happy to hear from yourself that you are well and hearty. That you are busier than ever I can easily believe. I flatter myself you will live till the Peace and Liberty and Happiness of your native Country are established upon the surest and most lasting foundations, and that you will not have the unspeakable Mortification to leave it in the State of Anarchy in which it is now involved. More has it already suffered and much more it is likely to suffer in a few Years from this Contest, than the amount of all the Taxes the British Parliament (always considering themselves as the Representatives of every British subject) should probably have imposed on them for a Century to come.

My Family are all well and desire to be remembered to you. I am

Dear Sir

Your affectionate humble Servant

WILL : STRAHAN.

Since writing the above I have read the last Petition of the Congress to the King, to which your name is annexed. It appears to me to be couched in very loose Terms, neither

making any Concessions, or pointing out any feasible Plan of Reconciliation. It plainly appears, indeed, to be written after you was convinced that Words and Arguments were of no Use. I dare say none of the Persons who sign it, expected it could have any Effect here, tho it may have a good deal with the ignorant Part of your Provincials. By the way, may it not be justly apprehended that the People of Property in America, after having put Arms into the Hands of the inferior Class, and taught them the Use of them, will one Day find it no easy Matter to persuade them to lay them down again? In my Opinion you have much more Reason to dread being enslaved by some of your own Citizens, than by the British Senate. You will smile at my Folly perhaps, but I am fully persuaded that this Contest will not only give a deadly Check to your growing Power and Prosperity, but greatly endanger those very Liberties you have now taken up Arms to defend.

LONDON, 13 Feb^r 1776.

DEAR SIR

I lament this unhappy war, as on more serious accounts, so not a little that it renders my correspondence with you so precarious. I have had three letters from you, and have written as often, but the last, by Mr. Temple, I have been informed he could not take. What is become of it I cannot tell.

This accompanies a copy of my second volume of Observations on air, and of a pamphlet, which may perhaps make you smile. Major Carleton, brother to the Governor of Quebec, has undertaken to convey the parcel to you.

By the same hand you will receive a most excellent pamphlet by Dr. Price, which, if anything can, will, I hope, make some impression upon this infatuated nation. An edition of a thousand has been nearly sold in two days. But when L^d G. Germaine is at the head of affairs, it cannot be expected that anything like reason or moderation should be attended to. Everything breathes rancour and desperation and nothing but absolute impotence will stop their

proceedings. We therefore look upon a final separation from you as a certain and speedy event. If anything can unite us, it must be the immediate adopting of the measures proposed by L^d Shelburne, and mentioned in Dr. Price's pamphlet.

As, however, it is most probable that you will be driven to the necessity of governing yourselves, I hope you have wisdom to guard against the rocks that we have fatally split upon, and make some better provision for securing your natural rights against the incroachment of power, in whomsoever placed.

Amidst the alarms and distresses of war, it may perhaps give you some pleasure to be informed that I have been very successful in the prosecution of my experiments since the publication of my second volume. I have lately sent to the Royal society some observations on blood (which I believe have given great satisfaction to my medical friends) proving that the use of it in respiration is to discharge phlogiston from the system, that it has the same power of affecting air when congealed and out of the body that it has when fluid and in the body and acts thro a bladder and a large quantity of serum, as well as in immediate contact with the air. In pure air it becomes of a florid red, and in phlogisticated air black; and the air to which it has been exposed is affected in the same manner as it is by respiration, the calcination of metals, or any other phlogistic process.

I am now in a very promising course of experiments on metals, from all of which, dissolved in spirits of nitre, I get first nitrous air as before, and then distilling to dryness from the same materials fixed air, and dephlogisticated air. This proves that fixed air is certainly of the nitrous acid. I have, however, got no fixed air from gold or silver. You will smile when I tell you I do not absolutely despair of the transmutation of metals.

In one of your letters you mention your having made a valuable discovery on your passage to America, and promise to write me a particular account of it. If you ever did this, the letter has miscarried, for which I shall be sorry and the

more so as I now almost despair of hearing from you any more till these troubles be settled.

The club of honest whigs, as you justly call them, think themselves much honoured by your having been one of them, and also by your kind remembrance of them. Our zeal in the good cause is not abated. You are often the subject of our conversation.

Not to burden my friend too much, I give him only one copy of my book, but I hope you will communicate it to Professor Winthrop, with my most respectful compliments.

I am, as ever,

truly yours

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

P.S.—Lord Shelburne and Col' Barre were pleased with your remembrance of them, and desire their best respects and good wishes in return. The best thing I can wish the friendly bearer of this letter is that he may fall into your hands, as I am sure he will meet with good treatment, and perhaps have the happiness of conversing with you, a happiness which I now regret. Your old servant, Fevre, often mentions you with affection and respect. He is, in all respects, an excellent servant. I value him much both on his own account and yours. He seems to be very happy. W^m Stephenson is much as usual. He can talk about nothing but you.

LONDON, Feb. 24, 1776

DEAR SIR :

It is so long since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you that I fear the administration has but too effectually stopt the Channels of Communication between this Country and its colonies. I have allways dreaded this event as fatal & final to the prospect of national reconciliation. When in any contention the parties are not only studiously kept asunder, but mischief-making go-betweens exert every art and practise every fraud to inflame jealousies, animosities and resentments between them. It is but too obvious to fear that your own prophetic words sh^d

be accomplished, that instead of that cordial affection that once and so long existed & that harmony so suitable to the happiness, safety, strength and welfare of both countries, an implacable malice and mutual hatred, such as we see subsisting between the spaniards and Portugueze, the Geno [torn] and corsicans, sh^d fatally take root between the present state and its Colonies. These fears are not abated by the consideration of the incessant injuries, w^{ch} have been and w^{ch} continue to be heapt upon our unhappy fellow-subjects in America. These injuries are indeed brought upon them by the administration, who usurps the personality and authority w^{ch} they pretend to derive from the people, but from the distance between us and our american brethren, and the false evidence mutually transmitted from one to the other by a treacherous administration, I greatly fear that national resentment will become indiscriminate. It is inseparable from human nature that the mind under any grievous suffering, especially injury, will be distracted and broken from its [torn] and most affectionate connexions w^{ch} may happen to be but accidentally & collaterally involved. The affection of States to each other consists of the combination of personal affections, parentage and intercourse; when blood is shed, and the parent weeps for his son, the widow for her husband, brother for brother, an inextinguishable resentment arises, the appeal for blood. Those unfortunates who have lost their relations and friends become furious, and in those who have them yet to lose, horrors and fears take place of and drive out affection, the bonds of attachment are let loose and all the tumultuous passions are set afloat. I know that you are as sensible of these consequences as any one can be, you have foreseen them afar off, you have predicted them, you have done every thing in your power to soften animosities and to put off the evil day. I hope still that you will not despair. Your age, experience, character, humanity and example of moderation in disregarding those injuries and insults w^{ch} have been offered to yourself, give you the best title to plead with your country-

men, to suspend their resentments, to discriminate those who have not injured them, and to remember the ties of affection between themselves and their fellow-subjects in England. I see the influence of your Counsels in the Congress. I see the distinction clearly made between the ministry and the people of England, but I fear at the same time the seeds of jealousy are struggling to break out. The address from the Congress to the assembly of Jamaica speaks of the people of England as dissipated and corrupt. The people of England are far otherwise. They are just and generous and if it were put to the sense of the people of England, you w^d not be left in any doubt whether it was want of will or want of power to do you justice. You know the blot of our constitution by w^{ch} to our disgrace and to your misfortune, a corrupt ministry, sheltered by parliamentary influence, are out of our immediate Controul. A day of account may come, when the justice of the nation may prevail, and if it comes not too late, it may prove a day of reconciliation and cordial reunion between us and America. The trial is with you, to guard your resentments from becoming indiscriminate, and a great trial it is [torn] the assistance and guidance of good men like yourself to abate popular fury, but unexampled as the forbearance of America has hitherto been, believe me, that fury w^{ch} among nations is inseparable from accumulated injury, is rising. You must exert all your discretion to take at least the chance of keeping it low till the fiery trial may abate. I cannot tell what efforts the ministry have in their malicious purpose to try. I am amazed at their desperate & headstrong hardiness to proceed in an undertaking w^{ch} gives them so little prospect of success, and such certainty of the severest responsibility to this country when they rouse themselves to the enquiry. The only machinery of the administration w^{ch} is to be feared is, least the course of their injustice and tyranny in America sh^d throw your countrymen into fury beyond the bounds of forbearance by cruelties exciting implacable hatred and upon that hatred so

raised by themselves to attack the [torn] of the people of England thereby to keep off enquiry from themselves. They are masters of all communication & consequently of the representation of facts to their own purposes. They will send false accounts to you of the disposition of the people here towards you, and if they can drive you by any means to acts of irreconciliation they will endeavour to raise implacable disposition on this side of the water upon the false suggestion of w^{ch} they are now endeavouring to urge you on. We who are friends to both countries wish to prevent such fatal jealousies and misunderstandings.—Many of your best friends in England regret that the Congress has not made some specific and definite proposition upon w^{ch} the sense of the people of England might have been consulted. A people at large cannot enter into historical details, especially when facts are so studiously confounded and misrepresented, but still they c^d judge of a simple proposition. If any such had been made, I think it w^d have been the most likely method to have captivated the good will of the nation. While the propositions of the Congress are generall and indefinite, the ministry treat them as general words meaning little or nothing in fact. But I think the further prosecution of hostile measures c^d not be supported by the ministry if they were to refuse any definite and equitable offer of accommodation made on the part of America. If it be possible let the two countries be once more reunited in affection. It is not simply peace that we ought to strive for, but reconciliation w^{ch} is more than peace. We may have peace with foreign states, but it must be reconciliation alone that can unite us as one people. However forlorn the prospect may be, let not the common friends slacken their endeavours. Constancy is our only hope. All is lost if we despair. I am Dear Sir

With the greatest regard

and esteem very affectionately yours

TO DR. FRANKLIN

Philadelphia.

G. B.

LONDON 31st 3^d/ Mo. 1776.

I could not with any satisfaction avoid informing my Friend Doctor Franklin that Lord Howe continues as respectable a Character at this hour, as when we last parted—a Hint, that I thought, in every point of view, consistent for me to communicate to my respectable Friend, at this critical Conjunction; with this addition, that whatever the mission of Lord Howe may prove, I am firmly persuaded that it will not be for want of inclination in him, should the Olive Branch not rise superior to the direful din of war—In this Sentiment, I am not alone, as my much valued & able fellow Labourer in the desirable Work of Peace most cordially joins me and however the M: D. & myself differ in opinion from others, we daily have the satisfaction of hearing from all Parties.

Approbation of the Man, who, we have wished, should wear the Laurels, by reuniting the Colonies to the Mother Country—an achievement deserving of more honours & which must be productive of more heartfelt Satisfaction to a Good Man than the Destruction of an Armada.

I am Thy respectful Friend

DAVID BARCLAY.

DOCTOR BENJAMIN FRANKLIN in America.

THE AMERICAN
PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
1743-1903

ADDRESS BY

J. G. ROSENGARTEN

at the Annual Dinner of the Society, April 3, 1903

Reprinted from the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,
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PHILADELPHIA

1903

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, 1743-1903.¹

Founded in 1743 by Franklin and his associates, many of them members of the Junto described so affectionately in his Autobiography, the American Philosophical Society has had a long and honorable career. Formed on a broad basis, it embraced the representatives of all the sciences and of learning in the Colonies. Known to-day mainly as a body of scientific men, it still keeps in touch with historical and literary men at home and abroad. To it in 1773 Dr. Rush presented his "Inquiry into Dreams and Sleep," a curious subject on which another member, Mr. John Bigelow, has recently published a work, and on which still another member, Max Müller, wrote a thoughtful letter, printed in the second volume of his recent "Life and Letters."

"An Essay on Universal Knowledge" was rewarded by a premium in its early days, and in 1770 there was presented a notice of families in Lancaster County that make homespun; and later came a list of German immigrants from 1729 to 1789. In 1789 there was presented a bottle of petroleum from Oil Creek. In 1815 Fulton deposited the model of his torpedo boat. In 1817 President (both of the Society and of the United States) Jefferson deposited the original Journals and Daily Note-Books of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition to the Pacific, and in doing so he acknowledged that at Washington there was no suitable depository for these valuable papers, and wrote that in the Philosophical Society they would be useful "for the Historical Class."

The Historical and Literary Committee published in 1819 the first of its two volumes of "Transactions," containing

¹ Address by J. G. Rosengarten, at the annual dinner of the Society, April 3, 1903.

valuable papers by Heckewelder and Du Ponceau on Indian languages and on the early history of Pennsylvania. From that committee originated the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which has since grown into such a large and important body, with its splendid wealth of original documents and its large library relating to the history of Pennsylvania. The Lewis and Clarke field notes were used by Nicholas Biddle in preparing a popular narrative of their expedition, but, following the fashion of the day, he made a readable and flowing narrative. Now, with the better sense of the value of original sources, these notes are being prepared for publication under the editorial supervision of one of the best historical scholars of the country, Mr. R. Thwaites, of the Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the careful editor of the "Jesuit Relations," that storehouse of information as to the very early geographical history of the country. His edition of the notes will be published as part of the centennial celebration of the first exploration of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast. Before the Philosophical Society the elder De Lesseps read a paper on the Empire of Morocco, and later the Society encouraged the undertaking of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Before the days of the Academy of Natural Sciences it received the reports of botanists like the Bartrams and Muhlenberg, and their herbariums, which were finally handed over to the Academy of Natural Sciences. So, too, its collection of rare coins went to the Numismatic Society and its archaeological collection to the University Archæological Museum. Before the day of agricultural and horticultural societies, topics now discussed by them were presented and debated in the meetings and Transactions and Proceedings of the Philosophical Society, and papers on the English language and kindred subjects are there preserved that would to-day go to one of the numerous philological associations of the country. Geology and geography, aerial voyages, chemistry, physics, astronomy, were all then subjects for papers and discussion in the Philosophical Society, and to-day many

of the existing vigorous bodies devoted to these subjects still look to its publications and its library for the needed information as to the work done by early investigators. The hall of the Philosophical Society stands on ground in Independence Square, granted to it by the State before the Revolution, and it has shared its quarters in turn with the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania, with the College of Physicians, the Historical Society, and the Athenæum. To-day their buildings have far outgrown that of the Philosophical Society, but they still work in harmony, mindful of their old relations. Peale's Museum was quartered in its hall, too, until it was moved into Independence Hall; and when it was finally moved to the Chinese Museum, at Ninth and Sansom Streets, it was destroyed by fire,—a great loss, for it included many rare and valuable objects.

Before trade and finance invaded its quiet Fifth Street hall, part of its building was occupied by Mr. John Vaughan, for fifty years its Secretary, and every travelling foreigner of distinction and every American of note was entertained at his Sunday morning breakfasts, and a record of all the famous men who shared his hospitality could be gathered from such books as "The Travels of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar" and "The Life of George Ticknor." After Vaughan's death, Dr. Caspar Wistar, the President of the Philosophical Society, made his Sunday evening gatherings noteworthy, and on his death his friends perpetuated his memory by founding the Wistar Club, of which to this day most of the members are also members of the Philosophical Society. Its Saturday evenings are always noteworthy for the hospitality extended to all men of science and letters. Then, too, the name of Caspar Wistar is perpetuated in the Wistar Museum of Comparative Anatomy of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the most important institutions of its kind in the country. Its President, General Isaac Wistar, was also until recently President of the Philosophical Society, and his successor, Dr. Edgar F. Smith, is Vice-Pro-

vost of the University, which is also largely represented in the other officers of the Philosophical Society,—in the four Secretaries and in its Councils. So, too, the High School and Haverford and Bryn Mawr and Swarthmore, as well as Princeton University, have active representatives in the Philosophical Society. From the outset the American Philosophical Society was founded in honest imitation of the Royal Society of London, and it now selects and elects its members—resident, non-resident, and honorary—on the same basis, so as to secure representatives of all branches of knowledge, and in numbers so limited—annually fifteen American members and five foreign members—as to select carefully the most representative men of note at home and abroad. It is this that makes membership in the Philosophical Society an honor and distinction. It was through Franklin, when he was in France, the representative of American science as well as of his country, that there began an exchange of publications with the great French and other European scientific bodies that is still actively maintained. Franklin left to the Philosophical Society nearly a hundred volumes of the Transactions of the French Royal Institute of Science, and to these are now regularly added the numerous volumes issued by the five French Academies that constitute to-day the Institute of France,—perhaps the most influential body of its kind in the world. To the Philosophical Society came more than seventy volumes of Franklin's Papers, covering his long life of varied activity; these are now being slowly "calendared," and it is to be hoped that means will be supplied—for the Society's income is a very small one—to have the Calendar of the Franklin Papers ready as the contribution of the Society to the Franklin Bi-Centennial in 1906. At its annual meeting it was decided to invite to that celebration all the numerous bodies, local, American, and foreign, of which Franklin was a member. Here in Philadelphia he was the founder of the University, of the Pennsylvania Hospital, of the Philadelphia Library, of the first fire and insurance

companies, and he was honored at home and abroad by degrees from many colleges and universities, and by election to all the great scientific societies. All of these will no doubt join in doing honor to his memory. The United States may well honor him as the first Postmaster, and as his State Papers are preserved in the Library of the Department of State in Washington, it will no doubt be represented, and will make this Bi-Centennial international and national.

It is surprising that this venerable Society, the oldest scientific society in this country, and active and useful, has received so little recognition in the way of gifts. The Magellan Prize and the Michaud Fund both came from foreigners who knew its value, and from the former fund a prize is still awarded, while from the Michaud Fund money was given to defray the expense of the splendid collection of oaks planted in Fairmount Park. The late Henry M. Phillips founded a prize that is often awarded after careful work by competent and able judges. His nephew and namesake left a modest legacy for the library that may be increased to a sum sufficient to be of great use. But in all these long years of active life no benefactor has given such an endowment as would enable the Society to further the scientific work of its members and of the larger world of scientific and literary students who are free to use its publications to make their work known. It has been thought that Andrew Carnegie, a member of the American Philosophical Society, is so like Franklin in many ways that he would some day endow Franklin's and his Society with a fund large enough to enable it to enlist new recruits in the broad field covered by its purpose; "for promoting useful knowledge" is part of its title, and certainly both Franklin in his day and Carnegie in ours are the men who have given the world the best example of the best way of promoting useful knowledge.

The foremost men of science and letters are found among the long list of names that constitute its roll of members.

Beginning with Franklin and Rittenhouse and Kinnersley and the great names of our early colonial history, it added those of the most illustrious English and Continental students and scholars. After the Revolution it showed the gratitude due our French allies by electing the most distinguished Frenchmen who had served in the War of American Independence, La Fayette and Rochambeau and their companions in arms and the early diplomatic representatives of France, and the great philosophers and men of science and letters, and that tie is still kept alive by the many distinguished Frenchmen elected from time to time. Every country has since then supplied its quota, and Germany and Italy and Russia and South America and Australia and Canada are well represented. Every great American found worthy of the honor has gladly accepted it.

The local representation at its annual meetings included many famous Philadelphia men of science, and at its last annual meeting every university and college, every scientific society, and every learned body of the country was well represented by the members. Philadelphia can point with pride to such men as S. Weir Mitchell and Joseph Wharton, George F. Baer and Alexander J. Cassatt, Hampton Carson and Governor Pennypacker, Horace Howard Furness,—three generations of that honored name were at one time on its roll,—and, indeed, heredity has often been noted in the Baches, the descendants of Franklin, the Biddles, the Cadwaladers, the Pattersons, the Haupts, the Leas, the Merricks, the Morrisises, the Rawles, the Fishers, the Sellers, the Wistars, while science and art and letters have given many of their best fruits in the present active members, so that the American Philosophical Society still maintains its position alike from age and merit.

The broad and catholic nature of the American Philosophical Society is well shown by the various branches of science and literature represented in its officers and in universities and colleges represented by those who read papers at its annual meeting and by those who discussed

them. The Patron of the Society is the Governor of Pennsylvania, *ex officio*,—an office as old as the Society itself; the present incumbent is the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania; the President is Vice-Provost Edgar F. Smith, Harrison Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania; the Vice-Presidents are Professor George F. Barker, Emeritus Professor of Physics in the University of Pennsylvania; Professor S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C., and a distinguished astronomer; and Professor W. B. Scott, Professor of Geology at Princeton University. The Secretaries are Dr. I. Minis Hays, who is also the Librarian; Professor E. G. Conklin, a noted Biologist; Professor Arthur W. Goodspeed, Professor of Physics and head of the Randal Morgan Physical Laboratory; and Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., Professor of Assyriology and Librarian of the University of Pennsylvania. On the long list of those who read papers at the annual meeting there were representatives of Cornell, of Lafayette, of Johns Hopkins, of Lehigh, of the Royal Society of London, of the Carnegie Institute, of the Rockefeller Institute, of Haverford, of the University of Pennsylvania, of Princeton, of Columbia, of Brown, of Bryn Mawr, of Harvard; and among those who discussed the papers, a noteworthy representative of science was Joseph Wharton, the founder of the Wharton School of the University and President of the Board of Trustees of Swarthmore. He showed an intimate knowledge of various branches of science and of numerous fields of learning not often combined in a successful man of business, who is at the same time a poet and a manufacturer. The presence of representatives of the Central High School of Philadelphia and of other kindred institutions showed that the American Philosophical Society keeps in touch with all modern learning and rewards by membership attainment in every branch of useful knowledge. The life of such a Society, covering a period of over a hundred and sixty years, from 1743 to 1903, may well gain renewed vigor by

the large co-operation of scholars and students in its continued and energetic activity.

The Bi-Centennial of the birthday of Franklin is to be celebrated by the American Philosophical Society in such a way as to enlist, it is to be hoped, substantial aid for a Franklin Memorial Hall, in which this Society, encouraged by liberal endowment, may carry on the work so well planned and begun by Franklin. The long record of its many-sided activity in the broad field of useful knowledge is the best tribute to Franklin, and it is characteristic of his own long and useful career. His portrait and that of each of his successors in the office of President hang on its walls, as a constant inspiration to their fellow-members to be up and doing. What the Society has done in the past and is doing now, is the best reason for anticipating a long life of increasing activity and usefulness and for a recognition of its claim for a share of the generous flood of gifts for scientific research.

